Important articles from

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The 4 th Congress of TKP/ML(BOLSHEVIK) calls on the Workers of all Countries: BARBARISM or SOCIALISM!

Let us wave the flag of revolution on May Day!

- Forth Congress of TKP/ML(BOLSHEVIK) calls on the workers of all countries and oppressed peoples:

  BARBARISM OR SOCIALISM!

  THE BANNER WE HOIST IS THE BANNER OF BOLSHEVISM!

  OUR GOAL: COMMUNISM! 1

- FORWARD TO RAISE THE BANNER OF REVOLUTION ON MAY DAY AGAINST IMPERIALISM, FEUDALISM, FASCISM, RACISM, MALE SUPREMACY, NATIONAL OPPRESSION, AGAINST ALL REACTION AND EXPLOITATION!

  FORWARD TO CELEBRATE THE MAY DAY ACCORDING TO ITS REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS!

  BARBARISM OR SOCIALISM! 11

Fourth Congress of TKP/ML(Bolshevik) calls on the workers of all countries and oppressed peoples:

BARBARISM OR SOCIALISM!

THE BANNER WE HOIST IS THE BANNER OF BOLSHEVISM!

OUR GOAL: COMMUNISM!

Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples!

Sympathizers of Marxism-Leninism throughout the whole world!

Women and men comrades!

Class-conscious women and men workers of Turkish, Kurdish and all other nationalities!

Revolutionaries!

Workers, peasants and toilers of various nationalities in Turkey!

Our Party, the TKP/ML(Bolshevik), held its 4th Ordinary Congress to appraise its activity during the last three years in the light of the science of Marxism-Leninism, lay down the activity for the coming period and set up a work schedule.

Our 4th Congress analysed the political developments and the changes in the world and in Turkey/North Kurdistan in the light of Marxism-Leninism, discussed and gave the last shape to the Political Report submitted by the Central Committee to the Congress.

Our Congress made the following assessments:

The Balance of Power in the Imperialist World Is Shifting Entirely!

The "Eastern Block" formerly led by Russian social-imperialism, has broken down. Politically, modern revisionist social-fascist forms of dictatorship with a socialist mask was defeated by bourgeois dictatorship forms of Western imperialism with its "pluralistic democratic parliamentarian" mask. This defeat in the political field is actually a result of the decay and rottenness in the economic sphere of bureaucratic monopoly capitalism practised in the name of Socialism; a defeat of that variety of capitalism, not led by the laws of the market, but by "central plans" contrived by a handful of bureaucrats, vis-à-vis capitalism bent on "market economy".

This situation in the "Eastern Bloc" heated up the race, which imperialist great power(s) will lead the pack in the dogfight to carve up the spheres of influence in the world anew. Destroyed is the old balance of forces among the imperialist powers. While the Russian social-imperialism lost power extensively, the German imperialism incorporated East Germany and is intent on becoming the boss of Eastern Europe and already number one in the struggle for hegemony in the region.

The developments in Eastern Europe supplied the imperialist bourgeoisie with useful material for its ideological attacks such as "Communism is dead". The imperailist bourgeoisie affects with its ideological attacks not only the broad backward masses. Its influence and destruktive impact extends well into the ranks of the vanguard in all its intensity. Imperialism is on the attack in all spheres.

But the efforts of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologues are useless because in reality it was not Socialism and Communism which suffered a defeat, a breakdown and bankruptcy, but revisionism and social-fascism practised in the name of Socialism.

Here is what we have to say in the face of malicious accusations and attacks of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologues who accuse us of being "anachronistic":

– Was it then the dictatorship of the proletariat that was being practised, so that one could talk of a breakdown of Socialism?

No, a thousand times no! The dictatorship of the proletariat is an absolutely necessary form of State power during the transition period from capitalism to Communism. Without such a dictatorship there can't be Socialism. Socialism is the system which gives the exploiters no right to live, whereas the broadest possible democracy exists for the working class and the toiling masses. What was being practised in the degenerate revisionist countries was, however, a social-fascist dictatorship hiding behind a mask of socialism.

- Was it then a socialist economy that was being practised so that one could talk of a breakdown of socialism?

No, a thousand times no! A socialist economy proceeds from the premise of satisfying the material and intellectual needs of the working class and labouring people in the best way possible, demanding a contribution "from everyone according to his/her ability" to the social production and distributing the social products "to each according to his/her work", and it is a planned economy. On account of all of these qualities it knows of no periodical crises which are inevitable companions of capitalism. What was being practised in the degenerate revisionist countries was, however, bureaucratic capitalism in the name of socialism.

– Were the countries of Eastern Bloc communistic so that one could talk of a breakdown of Communism?

No, a thousand times no! Communism is a society in which all class contradictions are abolished, the contradiktions between mental and manual labour, between town and countryside, between the leaders and the led are abolished, where everyone participates in the social production "according to her/his ability" and takes from the abundant social production "according to her/his needs". Communism is an association based on the free will of free individuals of a future society. And this society has not existed till now, IT IS OUR GOAL!

In short, it was revisionism and social-fascism being practised in the name of socialism in the Eastern Bloc that broke down, collapsed and went bankrupt.

The Changes in Imperialism Are not of Essence

Imperialism, which now announces the "death of Communism", is, despite its imposing appearance, nothing else but "parasitic, decaying, moribund" capitalism as before. The changes in imperialism do not affect its essence. All its fundamental contradictions maintain their validity.

One way or the other, the fundamental contradictions between imperialism and the working class of the whole world as well as between a handful of imperialist "metropoles" and the oppressed peoples continue to put their mark on the developments in the whole world. World imperialist system continues to be the common arch enemy of the workers of all countries and oppressed peoples.

Imperialism Is Plunging the World into Barbarism!

Barbarism means imperialist, reaktionary, counter-revolutionary wars. While on the one hand the toadies of imperialism sing their song of "lasting peace", the Middle East is experiencing the biggest military deployment in its entire history. In the Middle East, a reaktionary, counter-revolutionary, imperialist war is being prepared in front of the eyes of the whole world. Imperialist and social-imperialist great powers which armed the counter-revolutionary fascist Saddam regime to the teeth are now plaking a war on the order of the day to bring him under control, which cannot but bring a disaster to the peoples of the Middle East and the world.

In this conflict about who will control 60% of the world's oil reserves, sold to the workers of the whole world and the oppressed peoples as restoring "democracy" and "territorial integrity of Kuweit", humanity is again being plunged into barbarism. And our slogan against this reactionary imperialist war of the imperialists and their lackeys is REVOLUTIONARY WAR!

Barbarism means the open terroristic dictatorship of finance capital – fascism, manifesting itself in imperialist metropolises in continuous internal fascisation, in dependent countries taking often the form of a dictatorship with a parliamentary mask. Our slogan against fascism is REVOLUTION!

Barbarism means racism and chauvinism, superiority of one's own nation and inferiority of all other nations. Aggressive nationalism is steadily being revived by imperialism and reaction. Our slogan against racism, chauvinism and nationalism is PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

Barbarism means the destruction of surplus production in the imperialist metropolises, and hunger, need, poverty and unemployment in backward countries.

Barbarism means male supremacy over women. The history of the female sex is as old as the history of private ownership over the means of production, and the oppression of female sex will be abolished when imperialism, the highest form of the system of private ownership, is buried by the proletarion world revolution. Our slogan is the unity of women workers and toilers with male workers and toilers in the struggle for revolution against imperialism, the highest and most developed form of male domination.

Barbarism means the plundering of nature and the destruction of its natural balance in pursuit of imperialist maximum profits. That's the reason why we say: The future of mankind is today more than ever dependent on the overthrow of the world imperialist system. The real alternatives in front of mankind are: IMPERIALISM OR REVOLUTION! BARBARISM OR SOCIALISM!

The Situation of the World Revolutionary Front

Despite its barbarism, imperialism cannot destroy the struggle for REVOLUTION! The world revolutionary front is full of examples of oppressed peoples up in arms waging struggle against imperialism and its local collaborators.

Extensive is the dimension of armed struggle against imperialism and its lackey regimes in Central and Latin America, in El Salvador and Peru. In Ethiopia in Africa, in Tigray and Eritrea, the Deng regime, a lackey of social-imperialism, which recently resorted to the manoeuvre of changing the front in the

imperialist/social-imperialist world, is hard pressed into the corner. In Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania the imperialists and their lackeys are trying to bring the armed uprising by way of compromises and concessions to a standstill. In the Middle East, the Palestinian people show their determination in the struggle against Zionism with their Intifadah. Nearly everywhere in Kurdistan, the national awakening and the struggle for national liberation manifest themselves in armed forms and bear the tendency of mass revolts. In the Far East, in the Philippines, in Sri Lanka and in Kampuchea, too, the fire of revolution could not yet be extinguished.

The various resistance struggles and protest activities against political powers that be in the imperialist metropolises also carry the seeds of revolution in themselves. So for example the autonomous movement in Western Europe, the militant resistance put up by the enthronisation ceremony in Japan etc.

The fact is, however, that the revolutionary crisis in the "outer front" is more developed than in the "inner front". Beside this objective reality, the subjective factor can be summed up as follows:

World communism is experiencing one of its weakest, most difficult periods. Vis-à-vis dialectical and historical materialism, the theoretical fundaments of Communism, idealism in its coarsest as well as most refined forms is quasi experiencing a rebirth. At a time where the revolutionary alternative is not perceivable, the bourgeoisie is filling the gap with old and new "religions". One of the fundamental theses of Communism, the proletarian internationalism, fell in theory and practice into oblivion, is pasted over by chauvinism and nationalism revived more than ever before.

World communism is not only the target of attacks of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but is also experiencing in its own ranks the biggest crisis and splintering. As to those whom we assess to be in the ranks of the revolution but who none the less attack and violate the science of Marxism-Leninism, here is what we have to say:

- Bearing in mind the changes in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania (PSRA), the development of the groupings on the basis of the line of Party of Labour of Albania (PLA) is not rosy. For, although the PSRA is presently not an element of the imperialist front, the degenerated revisionist leadership of Albania has through its resolutions laid down the economic programme of transition to an open capitalist restoration. The negative developments in Albania, which is still being presented as "the last fortress of socialism", will break up the unity of this current. It is possible that some of those around the PLA will develop towards Marxism-Leninism. To us falls the task of fighting even stronger against the revisionist line and practice of the PLA.

- The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement: The decisive characteristic of this current consists in the evaluation of "Mao Zedog Thought" as raising Marxism-Leninism to a higher stage. Its attacks on Stalin, its word-radicalism and its not in the least self-critical methods of behaviour go to show that this typical petty-bourgeois current has only in words something in common with Marxism-Leninism.

- The "Bolshevik Union" current on its part stands on the position of exaggerating Mao Zedong's mistakes, appraising him as not Marxist-Leninist; attacking the Chinese revolution, and not seeing anything Marxist-Leninist after the death of Stalin.

- The lately forming current led by the Communist Party of Iran, whose

common basis is Trotskyism and semi-Trotskyism, rests its main attack on the point of tracing the responsibility for modern revisionism to Stalin.

– Our Congress further notes that, as to our former sister organisations Marxist-Leninst Party of Austria (MLPÖ), Against the Current (GdS) and West-Berlin Communist (WBK), which are outside these "main currents", the way is blocked for their development into Marxist-Leninist parties.

This situation substantiates our assessment of Communism experiencing one of its weakest and most difficult times. Apart from us, among the forces acting in the name of Marxism-Leninism and opposing modern revisionism and social-imperialism there are – as far as we know – no other forces upholding Marxism-Leninism squarely on a correct basis. Today the attacks on Marxism-Leninism and socialism are concentrated mainly in attacks and "critiques" on one of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, on Stalin.

We declare that the defense of the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of Stalin demarcates the true Marxist-Leninists from the false, and proves on which side of the barricade one stands.

Yesterday as well as today was and is the main enemy of Marxism-Leninism in the ideological sphere the modern revisionism. The distortion of Communism by the modern revisionists places us in a situation where we in one respect have to start from the beginning anew...

Despite the disadvantage that socialism lost a lot of prestige in the eyes of the masses, the experiences of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin and Stalin, the experiences of the revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, the experiences of the Chinese revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are an advantage in our favour. Provided, we know how to learn from them and to put into practice what we learn.

Let imperialism do rejoice. He who laughs last laughs longest! In the past, the red banner of Communism waved over a sixth of the world, in the future this will be even more the case. New Octobers will come.

When those who back away in the face of the ideological attacks of imperialism will leave us, so shall they do, we are in no fear of that. Great tasks demand strong people!

The future of mankind is Communism! Or else mankind has no future at all! Inspite of all ... it is in the hands of the working class and oppressed peoples under the leadership of communists to prevent barbarism!

Our Congress Proclaims That The Struggle for Independence and People's Democracy in Turkey/North Kurdistan Will Be Won by the Revolution, and the Way to Socialism Will Be Smoothed by the People's Democratic Revolution under the Leadership of Communists!

The changes and developments in the concrete balance of power in the imperialist world system have also influenced the Turkish fascist ruling classes and their state. While the developments and changes within the "East-West Bloc" decrease the geostrategic importance of the fascist Turkish state, the "Gulf War" in the Middle East and the tendential collapse of the Russian social-imperialist empire have played a new trump card into the hands of Turkish fascists.

The relations of the Turkish ruling classes to all neighbour states are full of problems. Hereby come in the relations to Greece the Cyprus question, the airspace and the Aegean islands questions

to the fore.

On the basis of the Middle-East crisis the relations with Irak worsened so badly, that things might come to a war. Hier play the calculations and plans of the Turkish fascists to become a great power, to profit from the oil crisis and to bring Mousul and Kirkuk "home to the empire" a big role.

To conceal the contradictions on the home front, the Turkish fascists have, apart from pointing the finger at the "enemy" outside the country, firing and trying to spread chauvinism, lately added the factor of religion to their list of tricks as well. Followers of Sharia laws who were always turned a blind eye to when they acted as a force against Communism, are becoming more and more influential. While we warn the masses against the strengthening of Sharia followers and fight them, we are well aware that the fascist Kemalists are no alternative either and that it is necessary to demarcate ourselves clearly from them.

The fascist character of state power in Turkey/North Kurdistan of today is unchanged. The "democracy" to which they claim to have passed over, is nothing else but a parliamentary mask hung over fascist rule. The elections held recently in order to give the fascist dictatorship a democratic coat, are a method of tying the workers and labouring people to the system.

Today like yesterday, we say that for liberation, not elections, but the people's democratic revolution is the alternative. In Turkey/North Kurdistan, the working class and labouring people have at no time experienced real democracy. In our country the true democracy will be won by the revolution!

Although the threat of an open military fascist intervention, which still hangs constantly over the bourgeois reactionary, fascist parliament like the sword of Damocles, in certain respects became more difficult, one can nevertheless –keeping in mind the rapid developments in the world, the Middle-East crisis and a series of other developments– not rule out the possibility. The following is also clear: With the political structure of today, no bourgeois reaktionary, fascist party of the ruling classes is in a situation to form the government. Opposition parties like DYP (Party of the True Way) and SHP (Social Democratic Popular Party) which pretend to be the alternative to the Özal-ANAP (Motherland Party) Government of today are also parties of this system. Their settlement of accounts with one another will draw the masses even broader into politics. This situation creates for us the possibility of conducting propaganda and agitation, organizing and winning the masses. We say however: While making use of these possibilities, one must refuse on principle to make any compromises with any one section of the ruling classes against another in the name of utilising the contradictions among the ruling classes.

The Situation and the Development of Revolutionary Potential in Turkey/North Kurdistan and Our Tasks

The ruling classes woke up from their dream of "churchyard peace" established by them after 12 September 1980 in the country. The first activities which woke up the ruling classes from this dream came this time from the working class of Turkey, the only class of the society revolutionary to the last. The spontaneous movement of the working class is passing through one of its agilest and most active times in its history today. This movement of the class is influencing all other classes and strata. No matter whe-

ther it's the action of the mineworkers of Zonguldak or that of leather workers in Istanbul, this movement presently does not aim at "abolishing wage slavery" as such, but is waged mainly on an economic basis and for better living conditions. But inspite of all mean efforts and measures of the fascist ruling classes, political reform demands with such slogans as "resignation of the Government", "No to the war", "free trades unions" etc. are gaining more and more ground in the movement, the politicization of the movement is taking its natural course. In a series of factories and plants this movement is building its own STRIKE COMMITTEES and STRUGGLE COMMITTEES apart from union bosses!

Our working class today has become a class able to develop its own intellectuals and its own vanguard from its own ranks. For us communists this state of affairs reinforces the necessity of uniting with the working-class movement; this is our most vital task. Each conscious step we take will be for the accomplishment of this task. In the resolution adopted by our Congress precisely in this context is the demand for STRIKE AND STRUGGLE COMMITTEES understood as ACTION SLOGAN to develop the struggles of the working class to an independent class movement. In the resolution adopted we state:

"STRIKE AND STRUGGLE COMMITTEES are organs not only positively qualified to take over the leadership, but with respect to forms of organisation and activity at the same time enjoy the trust of all union and non-union workers working in a plant. This trust rests upon the election and control of these organs by all workers in the plant... Strike committees are the surest way of drawing all workers, women as well as men, directly and actively into the struggle... They are the best way of stopping the workers from being just quasi onlookers watching the strike.

The slogan of strike committees is a call to smash the legal frame of today through struggle and in struggle. On a factory by factory, plant by plant level, the strike committees are important tools. They are not an alternative to the revolutionary class unions, but their nucleus."

We are calling on our working class:

Freedom and democracy are also a precondition for really obtaining your economic rights. Therefore, the main struggle must be the struggle for REVOLUTION.

YOU ARE THE PRODUCER, YOU MUST ALSO BE THE RULER!

To be able to take over the role of the vanguard, you need your vanguard organization, the monolithic BOLSHEVIK PARTY armed with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, uniting in its ranks the most self-sacrificing, most class-conscious and most advanced sections of the class. Besides, you need real class organisations led by this Bolshevik Party. Only when you build up your own vanguard organisation, and to the extent you unite under its leadership, can your class movement remain outside the control of and overstep the lines drawn by the bourgeoisie.

* * *

Our Congress calls on our toiling peasant women and men, who since years bury their dissatisfaction in themselves and at the utmost express their worries with their votes of protest at the elections:

Your liberation lies in the people's democratic revolution which will bring true democracy to Turkey as well, solve the land question in a revolutionary way, eradicate the large landed property, usury and all feudal remnants with their

roots and solve your problems by way of a radical AGRARIAN REVOLUTION. Get down to the struggle for people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class!

The National Question and the National Struggle in Turkey/Nurth Kurdistan

In its resolutions to the national question and the national struggle in Turkey/North Kurdistan our Congress made the following points:

– The practice proved that the national question is one of the fundamental dynamics of the revolution.

– In the struggle waged since 1984 mainly between the PKK and the fascist Turkish state, the cause represented by the PKK has a just, democratic essence. In the struggle of the PKK with the fascist state, the cause of opposing national oppression and demanding freedom for the Kurdish nation is gaining more and more sympathy and support among the masses of North Kurdistan.

– This support bears in itself the tendency, as seen by the events in Cizre, Silopi and Nusaybin, to develop into a national uprising of the Kurdish masses against national oppression.

– On the national question, we uphold the genuine Marxist-Leninist fundament laid down by comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya. Basing himself in the national question on Lenin and Stalin, comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya took their theory as the starting point and successfully combined this theory with the practice of Turkey/North Kurdistan.

– "Regional autonomy", held by Ibrahim Kaypakkaya as solution to the national question, requires concretely for North Kurdistan the creation of a Kurdistan Section of the Party.

– The right of the Kurdish nation to self-determination means the right to secede and form its own state.

– A number of politicians of the ruling classes, seeing that it is impossible to supress the Kurdish national movement through fascist force, have come to discuss solutions, the upper limit of which is "cultural autonomy".

– The creation of the worker-peasant alliance in North Kurdistan means winning the potential of the Kurdish national movement for people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

– The main focus of the national question in Turkey lies in the Kurdish national question. But that's not the whole issue. The Armenian question too has for the internationalist education of the proletariat of Turkey and for the struggle against Turkish chauvinist nationalism a very important significance.

– It is necessary to uphold the right of Armenians in the diaspora to return to and settle in West Armenia. This means at the same time to uphold the right of Armenians to secede.

– It is necessary to condemn the occupation of Northern Cyprus. Fascist Turkish army must get out of Cyprus.

Besides underlining these programmatic points in relation to the national question anew, our Congress unanimously endorsed the schooling notes of the Party in relation to the national question and completed this work of developing our line.

The Resolution of Our Congress on the Question of the Liberation of Women

On the question of the liberation of women, our Congress emphasized the following points:

– In this sphere, our fundamental task is to fight firmly and resolutely against the existing dominant male chauvinism and all its appearances in the society.

– Feminism is evaluated by our Congress as on the one hand expressing the righteous reaction of women against existing male chauvinism, as a punishment for this male chauvinism. At the same time it is also one of the targets for the struggle for women's liberation.

– The Congress proclaimed that people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class will smash the chain of double (and for women of oppressed nations and nationalities triple) oppression and open the way for the liberation of working women.

– The Congress completed the self-critical evaluation of our past on this question and laid down significant organizational steps to be taken today towards accomplishing the goal of creating a Communist Women's Movement.

* * *

Our Congress also assessed the struggles of other working strata and intellektuals, particularly that of the studying youth. In this regard, the Congress noted that the demand to lift the legal ban on organizing of the public servants; the demand for the right to free coalition are just demands and should be treated subordinate to revolution.

With respect to the movement of the intellectuals and students, the Congress noted that its distinctive feature now was to lag behind the working-class movement, whereas formerly it was the leading force in the struggle. Although the leading role of the working-class movement is positive, negative is the regression of the intellectual and student movement, which is an important ally of the working class. The Congress further noted that these struggles too should be subordinate to revolution.

* * *

Furthermore, our Congress assessed the groups in Turkey/North Kurdistan which speak in the name of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, and pointed out very clearly that apart from us, there exist no other Marxist-Leninist forces together with which we could shoulder the task of building up the Bolshevik Party.

The Congress stressed once more the necessity of clearly differentiating between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary groups within the "left", rejecting united action with counter-revolutionary forces and the necessity of building united action with revolutionary groups on a revolutionary platform and on the basis of freedom of agitation and propaganda.

Our Congress ascertained that in our country modern revisionism is the main enemy within the "left", that legalism and reformism are widespread diseases in the revolutionary movement which have to be overcome through ideological struggle.

The Congress noted also that sometimes some opportunist groups judged to be revolutionary by us make counter-revolutionary actions as well, and it would be improper to harbour any optimism on this score.

Furthermore our Congress fulfilled the stipulations of the resolution adopted by our Third Congress of making a general evaluation of the "KAWA" group and of Yilmaz Güney and concluded the study of this matter.

While assessing the revolutionary-opportunist groups, our Congress treated once again the problem of resorting to force in relations between revolutionary groups and ruled out the use of force on principle as a way of solving problems

between revolutionary groups or individuals. In this context, the Congress resolved to renew the appeal made in 1982 to the revolutionary public.

As for the unity of Marxist-Leninists, the Congress stressed that the birds of a feather should flock together! Primary for us is the unity of Marxist- Leninists in the ranks of the Bolshevik Party. This unity means the strengthening of the TKP/ML(Bolshevik) and the unity of the working class with Communism.

* * *

Furthermore, our Congress discussed the questions of revolutionary violence, armed struggle and the role played by the armed struggle in the present situation concretely and adopted a resolution in this respect.

* * *

Our Congress discussed one by one all the proposals submitted to it and adopted resolutions.

Our organisational development and activity were discussed in depth and assessed on the basis of reports submitted by the Central Committee, special task-force cells subordinate to the Central Committee, and the Regional Committees. On the basis of this assessment the Congress drew up the prospects of our future work. The Congress discussed also the work plan for the period ahead of us. After lively, comradely discussions filled with revolutionary spirit our Congress passed the work plan. The Congress concluded its deliberations by electing a new Central Committee.

* * *

Women and men comrades!

The flag of Bolshevism held high by our Congress places before us difficult but equally far-reaching tasks. As before, we are in the situation of having to solve these tasks alone, relying on our own forces.

Therefore we say:

Let the bourgeoisie pass its ready-made sentence on the "death of Communism"!

Let the opportunist-revisionist front pass its ready-made sentence on our being such a small group when it is pressed into the corner on all and sundry points!

Let those who crush under the full scale of our tasks leave us!

Sooner or later Communism is going to win! The main thing is, that we, its uncompromising fighters, grasp hold of the science of Marxism-Leninism! The main thing is that we fulfil the task of carrying Marxism-Leninism into the class which is going to use this weapon, into the working class, properly.

The main thing is to live, act and fight like women and men worthy of this great cause! The main thing is that we excel ourselves!

With the TKP/ML(BOLSHEVIK)!
For the TKP/ML(BOLSHEVIK)!
Forward!
Further to BOLSHEVISM!
LONG LIVE THE TKP/ML(BOLSHEVIK)!

TKP/ML(BOLSHEVIK)
Central Committee
January 1991

FORWARD TO RAISE THE BANNER OF REVOLUTION ON MAY DAY AGAINST IMPERIALISM, FEUDALISM, FASCISM, RACISM, MALE SUPREMACY, NATIONAL OPPRESSION, AGAINST ALL REACTION AND EXPLOITATION!
FORWARD TO CELEBRATE THE MAY DAY ACCORDING TO ITS REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS!
BARBARISM OR SOCIALISM!

Women and men workers and toilers of Turkish, Kurdish, Armenian, Arabic and all other nationalities!

All the exploited and oppressed peoples of Turkey/North Kurdistan!

On May Day, the day of unity of women and men workers of all countries, the symbol of joint struggle of the international working class together with the oppressed peoples against imperialism, our words are addressed to you:

May Day, forbidden by the 12th of September military junta out of fear of the working class and labouring popular masses even as "Spring Holiday" and declared to a normal working day, is the *day of struggle* which the world working class wrested from the ruling classes through its tenacious struggle.

The task is, wherever we are, to celebrate this day of struggle in line with its revolutionary tradition. May Day is not a work day, but a day of struggle: to show this through actions is the task! The task is to show that the "death of Communism" proclaimed by the imperialist bourgeoisie of the whole world is empty talk; that it was not Communism which went bankrupt and collapsed, but revisionism and social-fascism practised in the name of Communism. It is the task to proclaim that Communism –the only way for the liberation of all mankind– lives on through the struggle of the working class. The task is to raise the slogan "Barbarism or Communism" higher, more determined than ever. The task is to act as fighters of the world proletarian revolution together with the working class and oppressed peoples of all countries on May Day. To the tasks!

Fellow workmen and -women!

It was only yesterday that you lost more than 300 class brothers in the Kozlu mine in Zonguldak. The ruling classes called this massacre, committed in pursuit of profits, a "misfortune", a "disaster" etc., and as your heart bled, they shed only crocodile tears. Don't believe them! It is the facsist State of the ruling classes dependent on imperialism which makes life more unbearable day by day, which robs you with price hikes und taxes, which lets you work in continuous threat of dismissal under the most difficult conditions of work as cheap labour slaves, which endangers your life for the sake of profits, which strongly restricts through fascist laws even your right to unionise. This State is your chief enemy. This State is the main instrument of your exploitation and oppression; it is the weapon of the bourgeoisie dependent on imperialism. No matter which bourgeois party or government comes to power, the anti-worker, anti-people character of this State is not going to change. The politics of DYP/SHP coalition government (True Path Party / Social Democratic People's Party) which came to power by spreading great hopes after eight years of ANAP (Motherland Party) rule provides the most clear-cut example that this is and will be so. Again price hikes, tyranny, torture, unbridled ex-

ploitation, again oppression and unjustice in thousands of ways. Again tax breaks and favours for the rich, again corruption and profiteering. The only thing that changed is the names of the rulers!

Fellow women and men workers!

You have shown and continue to show your strength in strike struggles and acts of resistance waged under limited demands for better working, living and fighting conditions. You have broken the churchyard peace aspired by the ruling classes. Nevertheless, your fight for limited economic and democratic demands is not sufficient for liberation. Your true liberation can only be won when your situation as wage-slaves is abolished through the revolution. You can reach your true liberation only under the dictatorship of the proletariat by abolishing private property over the means of production. Your liberation lies in Socialism, in Communism, which you will reach on the path of class struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the whole world proletariat.

On your way to socialism, in which the oppression and exploitation of man by man will be abolished, and further to Communism, on whose banner is inscribed: "Everyone according to his/her ability, everyone according to his/her needs", the first step is the people's democratic revolution of the armed and organised working masses to smash the fascist State of Turkish Republic, break the chain of dependence on imperialism, liquidate all remnants of feudalism, establish true democracy for the working masses, for the people and clear the way for socialism. The struggle for the people's democratic revolution must therefore be the central point of your struggle on this May Day too, in order to keep to the revolutionary traditions of May Day.

The dependent ruling classes are doing all they can to keep your struggle within the framework of this system. They know that production rests on your strong arms, that life will stop when you stop. Because of this, they are trying to tie you with thousands of chains to this system, to make you an instrument of their politics. They want to immortalize exploitation as they try to divide you along various lines into many pieces as to your sex, your religion, your confession, your nationality, your income, your region etc. Divide and rule! This is the unchanging policy of all exploiters. Presently the ruling classes want to stir up working women and men of Turkish nationality against the Kurds. They are trying to summon workers of Turkish nationality under the flag of Turkish chauvinism against the growing Kurdish liberation movement. The terrorist fascist State is unashamedly calling upon the Turkish workers to come out against "terrorism". What they call "terrorism", however, is in reality various forms of revolutionary terror. In connection with the fights in Nagorny Karabach between the Azeris and Armenians, too, the Turkish ruling classes are trying to whip up Turkish racism and chauvinism. The collaborationist, exploiter bosses, their State, this main enemy of the working class and oppressed peoples of Turkey/North Kurdistan, is presenting the Kurds and the Armenians as enemies! Don't let them fool you! Not the Kurds, the Armenians, etc. are your enemies, but the dependent ruling classes and their fascist State!

Fellow worker brothers and sisters!

This year, the May Day is taking place in an atmosphere of genocide created by the fascist Turkish ruling classes in the name of "suppressing the preparations for an uprising" in North Kurdistan. The army of the fascist Turkish ruling classes is wreaking havoc in North Kurdistan and from time to time in South Kurdistan as well. In the person of PKK (Workers' Party of Kurdistan), she is trying to suppress and destroy the Kurdish liberation movement. Under these circumstances, to give support to the national liberation movement led by the PKK in North Kurdistan, to uphold un-

conditionally the right of the Kurdish nation to secede is an urgent duty of the working class, is the only way of upholding the friendship of peoples. Failing to fulfill this duty is tantamount to tightening up the chain of slavery for the working class. A Turkey in which the Kurdish nation is kept in forced "unity" under national oppression and by the threat of genocide, can not be a democratic Turkey. Forced unity of Kurdistan means sustaining fascism in Turkey. In this consciesness, we must put the struggle against Turkish chauvinism into the centre of our activities on this May Day.

Whilst the fascist Turkish ruling classes are aspiring to the role of the executioner in North Kurdistan, they are at the same time preparing themselves for the role of "paragon western-democratic big brother" of the Turkic areas of the asunder falling Russian social-imperialist empire and demanding support from the working class for this role. The instigators and perpetrators of the first genocide of twentieth century now demagogically pillory the "genocide committed by the Armenians" on their "fellow folk" in Nagorny Karabach!

As the Turkish ruling classes stir up anti-Armenian hatred, they are trying to create the ideological basis on which to bring the genocide on Armenians left half undone by them in the history to completion through their "fellow folk" in Azerbaijan. Almost all spokespersons of the Turkish ruling classes are once more talking of "Turan" (Great Turkish empire) in plain and unequivocal terms. Turkish chauvinism and jingoist racism is being driven to the utmost by also whipping up anti-Armenian and anti-Greek hatred. The working class has the duty to put a stop to these instigations. On this May Day, the working class of Turkey/North Kurdistan must push back the blood-stained, chauvinistic flag of the bourgeoisie, its cries for "Turan" and its incitements of alleged "Armenian crimes", and hold high the banner of PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM! She must shout in the face of the bourgeoisie: I have nothing in common with you! I am your enemy and a resolute friend of all oppressed peoples!

Fellow women and men workers!

The biggest props of the capitalist bosses in locking up your struggles within the confines of this system are the yellow, reformist, fascist trades union bosses. Instead of being one of the basic means of defending the economic and democratic rights of the working class and a school of Communism, the unions are under their leadership instruments of confining the struggle within the boundaries of the existing system. Don't let them fool you into contentment with waging struggle only for pay raises and economic rights or pseudo-democracy within the boundaries of this system! Don't trust the union bosses! Take the struggle into your own hands! Build STRIKE COMMITTEES and STRUGGLE COMMITTEES elected by the plenary assembly of all workers, women as well as men, in all factories and works!

Never forget: Your enemy is not only the single entrepreneur or this or that government of the ruling classes, but the fascist regime of the ruling classes dependent on imperialism, the fascist State of Turkish Republic.

The road to liberation lies in smashing up this State through revolution and establishing the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants. As the vanguard class of the whole society, you must grasp the struggle of all the other toiling classes and strata, of all the oppressed for democracy and freedom as your own struggle. In this consciousness, raise high the red banner of struggle for revolution on this May Day to ABOLISH WAGE SLAVERY! Bring production to a standstill. Celebrate May Day with strikes, resistance, demonstrations and festivities. Tear down the mask of false democrats who recently talked of legalising May Day!

Peasants!

It is the fascist State of the dependent ruling classes that is driving you more and more into poverty, depriving you of the right to organise and exercising fascism in the name of democracy. To get your votes in the elections, the ruling class parties gave you promises after promises in October 1991. During the election campaign, you became the darling, "my peasant", of the ruling class parties. Each of these parties solemnly proclaimed they would give you 5000.- Turkish Liras more for your tobacco than the others would. All this is not new! The founder of this State too proclaimed you to be the "master of the nation". But poor and middle peasants, toiling peasants remained slaves as before. The masters in the countryside, in the village were the landlords, big landowners. And they remained masters. Today, too, the ruling classes are lining up to get back in ladles what they gave you during and after the elections in spoonful. Your liberation lies in the people's democratic revolution which is going to bring true democracy to Turkey/North Kurdistan, solve the land question in a revolutionary manner and eradicate landlordism, usury and all the other feudal remnants. Join in the struggle for people's democratic revolution led by the working class. Build PEASANT COMMITTEES to struggle for your daily, urgent demands as a part of the struggle for revolution. Turn villages into places of celebrating May Day!

Women and men civil servants and employees...

As the new government came to power, they made you thousands of promises. But the practice is different: an inflation rate of almost 70%, but the government conceding you a wage raise of only 25 to 30 per cent. This means that the income of persons with fixed salaries dropped. The promises about the right of civil servants to organise remained empty promises as well. The only way of putting an end to this is the revolution! Rights are not granted, but won by struggle. Therefore – get organised! Break the organisation ban of the fascist State in practice! May Day is the festival of Labour. You who live from your work, refuse to go to work on May Day! Express your struggle demands by demonstrations!

Young people, apprentices, young workers and unemployed of both sexes!

University, high school and technical school students!

This system is a mortgage on your future. It is the system of imperialism, fascism, racism and male domination that darkens your future. This is a system of barbarism that can lead to the extermination of mankind as such. Your liberation lies in the overthrow of this system through the revolution. Your single democratic demands like work security, democratic education and democratic schools & universities etc. are possible only in a truly democratic society. True democracy in Turkey/North Kurdistan, however, can be realised only through the people's democratic revolution. Let your legitimate struggle for democratic demands be a part of the struggle for people's democratic revolution led by the working class. Let your campuses and schools, workplaces and wherever you are, be the scene of revolution!

Intellectuals!

Putting an end to censorship, repealing the limitations placed on scientific thought and on science, breaking up of the chains, democratic laws and a truly democratic constitution can only be won as a result of the people's democratic revolution. With your fountain-pen and your science, with your heart and your brainpower, onto the side of the working class in the fight for people's democratic revolution! Into the streets and squares to lift the ban on May Day! Onto the factory gates!

Working women, oppressed besides by class oppression by sexual oppression as well! The words: "In the Communist revolution you have nothing to lose but your chains. But a world to win!" count even more for you! The overthrow of this male-dominated, patriarchal system through the revolution is the only way to your liberation as double slaves. Only the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of women and men proletariat will and can smash your double slave-chain and prepare the ground for your emancipation. Join in the struggle to create the COMMUNIST WOMEN'S MOVEMENT in order to win the struggle for people's democratic revolution and to make the revolution permanent! Raise high the red banner of revolution, of Communism, wherever you are, by whatever means at your disposal. This banner is at the same time the banner of women's liberation!

Kurdish nation!

Armenian, Arabic, Circassian ... and all other oppressed nationalities!

It is the dependent ruling classes and their fascist State that make life hell for you, that humiliate and submit you to national oppression. They are the ones who perpetrated the first genocide of the century by shedding the blood of Armenian nation. They are the ones who massacred thousands of Kurdish toilers in Agri, Zilan, Dersim and usurped the right of Kurdish nation to set up a separate state. They are the ones who, today, through the mouth of their Prime Minister assert the "acceptance of Kurdish reality", but none the less continue to commit one massacre after another, bomb the peoples, mountains and hills of Kurdistan with the most modern weapons. They are the perpetrators of the war of extermination in North Kurdistan today and responsible for it. They are the ones who till yesterday denied the existence of the Kurds, but were forced to step back and recognize the existence of Kurds after being confronted with the rising of Kurdish masses. They are the ones who educate the Turkish working population in the spirit of Turkish racist ideology and whip up anti-Kurdish, anti-Greek and anti-Armenian hostility to the utmost. They are the ones who vindicate all means of oppression and suppression against none-Turkish nationalities! They are the ones who put any discussion over the so-called "Misaki Milli" ("National Borders", whereby these borders contain Kurdish as well as Armenian territory) under taboo. They are the ones who wrote in their Constitution: "The Turkish State with its territory and nation is indivisible." They are the ones who try to realize their racist-chauvinist intentions not only inside what they call "National Borders", but also well beyond them when the opportunity strikes. They are the ones who occupied the northern part of Cyprus in 1974 and who, today, flirt with the idea of "Great Turan". The fascist Turkish ruling classes and their State are the main enemy of all the oppressed nationalities living in the country. Liberation lies in smashing this State through the revolution.

The true liberation of all oppressed nationalities leads via people's democratic revolution, which will create the conditions under which the Kurdish nation will be freely able to exercise its right to set up a separate State, which will guarantee the right of the Armenians living in the diaspora to return to their homeland and to secede, and full equal rights for all nationalities. Liberation lies not in bourgeois nationalism, but in proletarian internationalism! Oppressed nationalities: Embrace the banner of people's democratic revolution on May Day! Join in the struggle for revolution for your freedom!

Class-conscious women and men workers of all nationalities of Turkey/North Kurdistan!

The ideological, political, organisational and practical leadership of the working

class in the revolution is an absolute necessity when the revolution is not to stop halfway or when things are not to come to a "restoration". The successive fall of apparently oh so strong "giants" of the revisionist camp has shown this necessity clearer than ever before. Either the true leadership of the working class, or capitulation to imperialism, foulness, degeneration and collapse... These are the alternatives. The guarantee of the leadership of the working class in the revolution is the Bolshevik Party armed with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, uniting in its ranks the most conscious, most sacrificing and vanguard sections of the working class.

The main task of the day is to build up the Bolshevik Party in Turkey/North Kurdistan on the basis of a resolute and principled ideological struggle against all shades of oppurtunism and revisionism speaking in the name of class struggle and Marxism-Leninism; against modern revisionism, the ideology of former Russian social-imperialism; against legal Marxism and reformism which try to prop up the system; against Trotskyism and Euro-communism; against that sort of opportunism which attacks Leninism in the name of "Mao Zedong Thought", against that sort of opportunism which upholds and defends the line of post-Eighth Party Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania as Marxist-Leninist; against nationalism, defeatism and nihilism.

To celebrate May Day according to its revolutionary traditions means for the class-conscious workers above all to take up this main task and to support the building up of TKP/ML(Bolshevik) and her North Kurdistan Section.

Forward to May Day!

Forward to wave the red banner of May Day!

Forward to let the revolutionary tradition of May Day live on!

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!

March 15, 1992

Central Committee of the
TKP/ML(BOLSHEVIK)

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